3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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of the type known as bodas and others of the type known as ofrendas, given by different persons. 1916

This is one of the principal times when offenders against tribal laws are punished, although they may be punished with equal effect at any other public gathering. This fiesta usually lasts from three days to a week. [626]

La Fiesta de Agosto

As before stated, the date of the Fiesta de Agosto is quite irregular, depending largely on the convenience of the priest who is to attend. The whole fiesta had its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, and by the whites and negroes of other parts of the province it is celebrated always on that date. Among the Cayapa, however, this festival takes the place of the Easter fiesta as celebrated among the whites and negroes, in so far as the services of the priest are concerned. Whereas he always celebrates Easter at some point near the coast, and the whites and negroes almost always attend, the Cayapa await the arrival of the priest at their own villages for any such special services.

At a time when they know that the priest is in one of the villages at the mouth of the river, usually the village of La Tola, during the late summer or early autumn, a deputation is sent by the Cayapa to invite the priest to come to their villages to hold this annual fiesta. Governed largely by other engagements, the priest appoints a time when he will be able to be present; the Cayapa officials then notify all the people of a given village to assemble at that particular time. A day or so

been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /únʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /únʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /únʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /únʸi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /únʸi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comody [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /únʸi/.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Huru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

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Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camerones and then they paid the money.

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The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

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Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family, /búlutéla/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /únʸi/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

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When a new /ún^{y}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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